

# THE CONCILIAR EDICT OF 1166

CYRIL MANGO

IN the course of restoration carried out in 1959 in the mausoleum (türbe) of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent at Istanbul there came to light five large slabs bearing a Greek inscription.\* These slabs, made of richly veined Proconnesian marble, form the ceiling of the porch that is directly in front of the entrance to the türbe. They are laid side by side with the inscribed face turned up, so that only the smooth underside of the slabs is visible (fig. 1). The slabs have been left in place, but plaster casts of them were made in 1962 by the staff of the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul under the supervision of Bay Reha Arıcan. These casts have been put up in the outer narthex of St. Sophia. The inscription reproduces the edict of the Emperor Manuel I embodying the rulings of the Council of 1166.

The discovery of this inscription in Suleiman's tomb does not come as a surprise, for it has long been known that the inscription, or rather part of it, was transferred thither from St. Sophia, where it had originally been set up. The story of this transfer is told in an anonymous Greek document of the sixteenth century, as follows:

"Of the monuments that formerly used to decorate the Queen of Cities, many have been destroyed in the course of time and have disappeared; among those that have remained is the church of the enhypostatic Wisdom of God the Logos, which stands alone, the structures around it having been demolished. In this holy church, beside the wall that is on the left-hand side as one enters the innermost part (πρὸς τῷ εὐωνύμῳ μέρει τοῦ τοίχου τοῖς εἰσιούσιν αὐτὸ τὸ ἐσώτατον) there used to be four white slabs joined to one another in a row, each one three fathom (ὀργυίας) long and less than one fathom wide, so that the four of them formed a perfect square. These slabs, which were supported on tall, slender columns, were placed close to the marble revetment of the wall (αὐταὶ κίοσι μακροῖς καὶ λεπτοῖς ὑπερειδόμεναι προσήγγιλον τῷ τῆς ὀρθομαρμαρώσεως τοίχῳ). Upon them was a carved inscription containing the holy *tomos* which had been composed in the reign of Manuel Porphyrogenitus on account of the controversy that arose concerning the Lord's utterance in the holy Gospel, namely, 'My Father is greater than I.' This lasted down to the reign of Selim, the son of Sultan Suleiman; which Selim was the fifth of the Sultans that have ruled in the Queen of Cities.

"Now, this Sultan, upon entering the holy church to make his prayers, in the month of September of the year 7076 [= September, 1567], and seeing these slabs, was seized with astonishment and asked one of the muftis what these might be. This man, who was senseless, indeed insane, made the following senseless answer: 'These, O Emperor, are certain secret and mysterious

\* I should like to express my gratitude to Bay Feridun Dirimtekin, Director of the Ayasofya Museum, who granted me every facility to study and photograph the plaster casts of the inscription which forms the topic of this paper. Bay Dirimtekin is preparing a publication on the same subject. (See now *Annual of Ayasofya Museum*, No. 4 [1962], p. 10ff.)

sayings of our lawgiver Ali who was Mohamed's son-in-law.' 'Then why,' asked the Sultan, 'did he express them not in Arabic, but in foreign letters?' 'Lest,' he said, 'those that are versed in our writing should read these things and meddle in his mysteries, as a result of which, matters worthy of veneration would be spurned, were they to be known even to the vulgar mob; for many of our learned men have failed because they did not understand those things which in our books are expressed in riddles. Hence the wise Ali deemed it necessary, by using strange letters, to hinder the multitude from the investigation of these matters, or rather from the exact understanding of them.' 'If this be so,' answered the Sultan, 'let the foremost men of the Christian religion come here from the Patriarchate in order to interpret these things and make them accessible in secret to none but ourselves, so that I and you alone should know them, and feel contempt, in this respect, for the vulgar ignorance of the crowd.' The mufti approved of this design and, having despatched a *çavuş* (τλαούσιον) from among their servants (by this name they usually call messengers), he fetched one of the bishops who happened to be at the Patriarchate at that time, as well as two laymen, persons highly qualified to interpret such things. These men proceeded to the famous church of the Wisdom of God the Logos, and having set up ladders, they read and comprehended these things; having then, through a translator, rendered their interpretation into Arabic as exactly as possible, they brought it before the Sultan. The latter, seeing that the interpretation had nothing to do with his purpose, and having perceived that the senseless mufti's tales were utterly untrue, censured the man for his ignorance and condemned him to demotion from his rank. As for the slabs, he ordered, at the instigation of the chief mufti, that they should be removed from there and, after the writing had been obliterated with carving tools, that they should be laid down in his father's sepulchre that was being built just then; which indeed was accomplished with all speed. Thus, these slabs that had been erected with so much toil, zeal and reverence (Oh, Thy incomprehensible judgments, Christ our King!) were dishonorably taken out of there. Only one of the four has remained intact, the other three having been broken during their removal. They were conveyed to the hostel for the poor [i.e. *imaret*] that had recently been built by the Sultan's father, where they are still lying on the ground and are being trodden on by the infidel. This is how these matters happened."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This account has been published twice: by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Διορθωτικὰ εἰς χριστιανικὰς ἐπιγραφάς," *Žurnal Minist. Narod. Prosvešćenija*, CCCXLIII (Sept. 1902), p. 440ff.; and by S. G. Mercati, "Epigraphica," *Atti della Pont. Accad. Rom. di Archaeol.*, Ser. III, *Rendiconti*, III (1925), p. 206ff. My translation follows the latter edition. Papadopoulos-Kerameus used cod. 481 (sixteenth century) of the Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg, a little volume of fourteen folios, which, in addition to the account that concerns us, contains also the text of the edict, presumably copied from the inscription. Papadopoulos-Kerameus suggests that the author of the account may have been Theodosius Zygomalas and the scribe of the manuscript Alexander Hierax. On the latter, see my comments in *The Homilies of Photius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), p. 111f. Mercati's edition is based on cod. Ottob. gr. 309 of the sixteenth century. A third manuscript, in the library of the Marquis de Rosanbo, No. 322, also of the sixteenth century, has not been utilized: cf. H. Omont, *Catal. des mss. grecs des Départements* (Paris, 1886), p. 71; *id.*, *Inventaire sommaire des mss. grecs de la Bibl. Nat.*, III (Paris, 1888), p. 381.

The same story is reproduced in an abbreviated form by Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who introduces only one significant variant: the four slabs, he says, were supported on slender porphyry columns (ἐπερειδόμεναι ἐπὶ κίοσι λεπτοῖς πορφυροῖς).<sup>2</sup>

A second account of the same incident is given by an eyewitness, the Italian traveller Marco Antonio Pigafetta, as follows:

"Tra molte pietre, et marmi, che quivi erano per compimento di detta fabrica [Suleiman's tomb], io vidi quattro lastre di marmo lunghe circa nove et più piedi l'una, antiche molto, et intagliate tutte di lettere grece. Et queste furono levate di S. Sophia il mese d'Agosto 1567. Impercioche pochi giorni dopo la giunta nostra in Costantinopoli venne una notte un terremoto molto grande, il quale fece qualche danno.<sup>3</sup> Di che li loro interpreti et Mophti dissero, che percioche in S. Sophia si ritrovavano alcuni sassi, ne quali erano scolpite certe lettere profane et non conformi ponto alla lor Religione, era cosa inonesta, et empia molto il consentire, che più longo tempo vi dimorassero, et che di ciò Dio ne dava spesso segni, acciò gli levassero via. Per le quali parole gli cavarono di là, et gli porranno, come dicono, nel pavimento di detto Sepolcro. In questi marmi si leggono alcuni Decreti et constitutioni d'un Concilio celebrato in Costantinopoli à tempi d'un Emanuello Imperatore, et altre cose pertinenti alla nostra Religione."<sup>4</sup>

We need not insist on the few discrepancies between the two accounts and the slight inaccuracies contained in both, such as the statement that the slabs were used in the pavement of Sultan Suleiman's tomb, or the anonymous Greek's assertion that the writing on them was chiselled off. Nor is it of much consequence whether the inscription was removed from St. Sophia in August or September 1567. Suleiman I died while he was besieging Szigeth, on September 5/6, 1566. This date (H. 974) appears in gilt letters above the entrance to the türbe,<sup>5</sup> which is said to have been constructed by the architect Sinan in 1559.<sup>6</sup> Whether work on the türbe continued after the death of the great Sultan, or whether the porch is a later addition, are problems that may be left to competent authorities.

<sup>2</sup> Ἱστορία περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πατριαρχουσάντων (Bucharest, 1715), p. 794. Dositheus' account is quoted by S. Byzantios, Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις, I (Athens, 1851), p. 512f., who considers it implausible: the size of the slabs, he thinks, is excessive, and the placing of one of them in a sultan's tomb incompatible with Turkish usage. Cf. E. M. Antoniadès, Ἐκφράσις τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας, II (Leipzig-Athens, 1908), p. 238, who believes that the inscription was placed at the east end of the north aisle.

<sup>3</sup> An earthquake in 1567 does not appear to be recorded. Lists of earthquakes in Constantinople after 1453 are given by A. Perrey, "Mémoire sur les tremblements de terre ressentis dans la péninsule turco-hellénique et en Syrie," Acad. Royale de Belgique, *Mémoires couronnés et mémoires des savants étrangers*, XXIII (1848-50); R. Mallet and J. W. Mallet, *The Earthquake Catalogue of the British Association* (London, 1858); G. Maas, "Das Erdbeben von Konstantinopel, 1894," *Himmel und Erde*, VII (1895), p. 409ff.; J. Dück, "Die Erdbeben von Konstantinopel," *Die Erdbebenwarte*, III (1904), pp. 121ff., 177ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Itinerario di Marc' Antonio Pigafetta gentil'huomo vicentino* (London, 1585), p. 41f. (copy in British Museum); reprinted by P. Matković, "Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette u Carigrad od god. 1567," *Starine*, XXII (Zagreb, 1890), p. 109. Pigafetta's account was quoted by me in *The Homilies of Photius*, p. 297, note 6.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Djelal Essad, *Constantinople: de Byzance à Stamboul* (Paris, 1909), p. 208.

<sup>6</sup> Ernst Egli, *Sinan der Baumeister osmanischer Glanzzeit* (Erlenbach-Zürich, 1954), p. 52.



The Council of 1166 devoted its deliberations to the interpretation of the passage "my Father is greater than I" (John 14 : 28). Starting *ca.* 1160, a certain Demetrius of Lampe, who had travelled extensively in Europe, began preaching that the person of the Son could not at the same time be described as being equal to and lesser than that of the Father. His views, which had an anti-Latin bias, won the adherence of many members of the higher clergy and even of the laity. But the Emperor Manuel, aided by the Latin theologian Hugo Etherianus, was adamant in rejecting the new doctrine: the Johannine text should be understood, he argued, as applying specifically to the human nature of Christ. He attempted to impose his interpretation at private meetings both with Demetrius and with members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy; but realizing at last that he could not in this fashion stop the propagation of the new doctrine, he decided to convoke a council. The proceedings of this council, included in an official exposé (ἐκθεσις), have been published by Angelo Mai from a contemporary manuscript, cod. Vat. gr. 1176.<sup>7</sup> The first session of the council was held on March 2, 1166, in the Great Palace (not in the Blachernae palace as modern scholars have supposed),<sup>8</sup> and the Emperor's views naturally carried the day. A second meeting took place on March 6, at which the minutes of the proceedings were signed. A short formula, comprising four propositions, was officially published on March 13, on which day the Feast of Orthodoxy fell that year. But, since the formula was criticized for its ambiguity, a further session was held in the following week to draw up a statement which the opposition was required to endorse. On April 4, the imperial edict, duly signed in red ink and provided with a gold seal, was read out. There were further meetings on April 14 and May 6 dealing with disciplinary matters.<sup>9</sup>

Contemporary sources specify that the edict<sup>10</sup> was carved in stone and set

<sup>7</sup> *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, IV (Rome, 1831), p. 1ff.; reprinted in PG 140, col. 201ff. as part of lib. XXV of the *Thesaurus Orthodoxiae* by Nicetas Choniates. On the latter work, only parts of which are published, see H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), p. 663f. It appears to be true that the *Ekthesis* was incorporated verbatim into the *Thesaurus*; but this does not mean that the *Ekthesis* itself was written by Nicetas Choniates, as Uspenskij, Petit, Jugie, and other modern scholars have assumed (see references in note 9). Cf. Grumel, *Les registres des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, I/3 (1947), No. 1075. The initial miniature of cod. Vat. gr. 1176, representing the Emperor Manuel and the Empress Mary, is reproduced by S. Lampros, *Λεύκωμα βυζαντινῶν αὐτοκρατόρων* (Athens, 1930), pl. 69.

<sup>8</sup> Mai, *op. cit.*, p. 36f.: ἐν τῷ πρὸς θάλατταν ὑπερώῳ τοῦ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ παλατίῳ νεουργηθέντος οἴκου τῷ βασιλεῖ. *Ibid.*, p. 37: ἐν τῇ ὑπερώῳ τροπικῇ τῇ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τοῦ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ παλατίῳ πορφυρομανουηλάτου τρικλίνου.

<sup>9</sup> The best accounts of the Council are by L. Petit, "Documents inédits sur le concile de 1166 et ses derniers adversaires," *Vizant. Vrem.*, XI (1904), p. 465ff.; and by P. Classen, "Das Konzil von Konstantinopel 1166 und die Lateiner," *BZ*, XLVIII (1955), p. 339ff. See also: F. Uspenskij, "Bogoslovskoe i filosofskoe dviženie v Vizantii XI i XII vekov," *Žurnal Minist. Narod. Prosvětenija*, CCLXXVII (Oct. 1891), p. 304ff.; reprinted in *Očerki po istorii vizantijskoj obrazovannosti* (St. Petersburg, 1891), p. 225ff.; F. Chalandon, *Jean II Comnène et Manuel I Comnène* (Paris, 1912), p. 644ff. (merely a paraphrase of Petit); Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, V/2 (Paris, 1913), p. 1045ff. (outdated); L. Oeconomus, *La vie religieuse dans l'Empire byzantin au temps des Comnènes et des Anges* (Paris, 1918), p. 51ff.; M. Jugie, *Theologia dogmatica christianorum orientalium*, II (Paris, 1933), p. 656f.; K. G. Mpones, *Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Μολάκη τὰ σωζόμενα* (Athens, 1937), p. 17ff., who unaccountably refers the events of 1166 to the reign of Andronicus I; Grumel, *Regestes*, I/3, Nos. 1059–1067, 1070, 1073, 1075, 1080; A. Dondaine, "Hugues Ethérien et le concile de Constantinople de 1166," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, LXXVII (1958), p. 473ff.

<sup>10</sup> F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, No. 1469.

up in St. Sophia. Nicetas Choniates, who in his *History* is critical of the Council, says that this was done at the instigation of court flatterers;<sup>11</sup> while Cinnamus adds that the lapidary inscription was set up on the left-hand side as one entered St. Sophia,<sup>12</sup> which agrees with the anonymous Greek document we have quoted.

On two occasions after Manuel's death the inscription was in danger of destruction. Upon the accession of Andronicus I, the opponents of Manuel's religious views tried to use the new Emperor's hatred of his predecessor with a view to the suppression of the lapidary edict in St. Sophia; but Andronicus was unwilling to reopen an old dogmatic quarrel, and when once Euthymius, Bishop of Neopatrae, and John Cinnamus broached the question in his presence, he threatened to cast them into the river Rhyndacus, beside which he was then encamped, if they did not stop discussing theology.<sup>13</sup> Once again, in the reign of Isaac II, an attempt was made to have the inscription removed; it was even argued that the misfortunes of the empire were directly due to the recognition of Manuel's heretical dogma. Isaac was about to yield, but the threat of a revolt made him postpone the action.<sup>14</sup> The preservation of the inscription is commemorated in a lengthy epigram by Theodore Balsamon who heaps extravagant praise on Isaac for having silenced the heretics and for having made fast the inscribed stones, as with a double anchor, by setting up on either side images of the apostles Peter and Paul:

- 30 κἄν γὰρ σατὰν δόλιος ὑπέγρυξέ τι  
καὶ συντριβὴν ὧδινεν αὐτῆς προσφάτως,  
ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς Ἄγγελος πρωτοστάτης,  
μέγας Ἰσαάκιος Αὐσονοκράτωρ,  
"στῶμεν" βοήσας καὶ γραφῆς ἀκοντίῳ  
35 τὰς αἵρετικὰς καθελὼν φληναφίας  
διτταῖς κατεστήριξεν αὐτὴν ἀγκύραις,  
ἔνθεν κάκειθεν ὡς στύλους στήσας δύο  
τὴν τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ λόγου κορωνίδα,  
τὸν Πέτρον ὥσει πέτραι ἀρραγεστάτην  
40 καὶ Παῦλον ὥσει παῦλαν ἀσφαλεστάτην.<sup>15</sup>

The inscription thus escaped destruction and, as we have seen, remained in St. Sophia until 1567.

<sup>11</sup> Bonn ed., p. 278.

<sup>12</sup> Bonn ed., p. 256: καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν λίθοις ἐγκολαψάμενοι τὴν γραφὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Σοφίας ἱεροῦ ἀριστερᾷ εἰσιόντι φέροντες ἔστησαν. The erection of the edict in St. Sophia is also mentioned by Ephraem, Bonn ed., p. 199, v. 4770 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Uspenskij, *Očerki*, p. 237, quoting a passage from lib. XXVII of the *Thesaurus Orthodoxiae* after cod. Oxon. Roe 22; published from the same manuscript by S. Eustratiades, *Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Γλυκᾶ εἰς τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς Θείας Γραφῆς κεφάλαια*, I (Athens, 1906), p. κα'.

<sup>14</sup> Uspenskij, *op. cit.*, p. 238; Eustratiades, *op. cit.*, p. κβ'. This happened under the Patriarch Nicetas II Muntanes, i.e. between 1186 and 1189.

<sup>15</sup> K. Horna, "Die Epigramme des Theodoros Balsamon," *Wiener Studien*, XXV (1903), p. 194 f. The epigram is entitled: Στίχοι γραφέντες εἰς τὸ διὰ τοῦ λίθου ἱδικτον τοῦ κυρωθέντος δόγματος παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κυροῦ Μανουὴλ καὶ ἀναστηλωθέντος ἐντὸς τῆς ἀγιωτάτης τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας.

Manuel's edict is perhaps the longest lapidary Byzantine inscription that has come down to us, and invites comparison with the four chrysobulls inscribed in the church of Brontochion, Mistra;<sup>16</sup> the latter, however, being in paint. A reconstruction of the original disposition of the inscription is offered in figure 2; the missing parts are indicated by hatching. When complete, the inscription consisted of four slabs placed vertically, side by side, so as to form a rectangle approximating the shape of a square. The first and third slabs (counting from the left) have been broken roughly in half, producing fragments I-II and IV-V respectively. The second slab has lost a large piece at the top and a smaller piece at the bottom. The fourth slab is totally lost. The dimensions of the five preserved fragments are as follows:

- I: 2.05 × 1.16 m.
- II: 2.06 × 1.16 m.
- III: 2.11 × 1.13 m.
- IV: 2.13 × 1.14 m.
- V: 1.99 × 1.15 m.

The total height of the inscription was consequently 4.11 or 4.12 m. To estimate its total width, we should calculate the width of the lost fourth slab on the basis of the lacunae in the text. This we cannot do with complete accuracy in view of the unevenness of the script and the irregular incidence of ligatures and abbreviations. It would seem, however, that the fourth slab was a little narrower than the others: we may estimate its width at about 1.05 m. It should be further noted that abrasion along the edges of the slabs has caused the loss of a narrow strip corresponding to about two or three letter spaces (*ca.* 7 cm.) between the first and the second as well as between the second and third slabs. The total original width of the inscription would consequently have been about 4.62 m.

The entire panel was framed by a double border (7 cm. wide) of more or less antique form, consisting of a row of dentils on the outside and a bead and reel moulding on the inside. The inscription ran continuously across all four slabs. The title, in letters about 8 cm. high, is arranged in four lines. The body of the text, in letters about 6 cm. high, occupies forty-nine lines. The script begins by being fairly monumental in the first three or four lines of the text, but gradually becomes more cursive and contracted; towards the end of the inscription it approaches the form of a manuscript hand.

The location of the inscription in St. Sophia is difficult to determine for lack of precise information; the statement in the anonymous Greek document that it was "beside the wall that is on the left-hand side as one enters the innermost part" suggests, however, that it was either on the north side of the central nave or in the north aisle. It would be reasonable to suppose that the size of the inscription was determined by the location that was assigned to it; hence we should look for a stretch of marble-revetted wall (as specified in the

<sup>16</sup> Cf. G. Millet, "Inscriptions byzantines de Mistra," *Bull. de corr. hell.*, XXIII (1899), p. 98ff.

Greek document) that is at least 4.62 m. wide. Now, Mr. R. L. Van Nice points out to me that the recessed face of the four main piers, on the side of the central nave, has a width of just about 4.65 m. The original pavement in front of the northeast pier has been obliterated by the addition of a Turkish tribune; in front of the northwest pier, however, some of the original pavement is still preserved and shows, directly against the wall, a series of small square patches. The removal of Manuel's inscription would naturally have left a number of cavities in the pavement into which the supports of the inscription had fitted; so the patches may have been inserted to fill up these cavities. This, of course, is no more than a possibility: the inscription could equally well have been placed in front of the northeast pier or, indeed, elsewhere in the north half of the church.

The text of Manuel's edict has been edited twice: by Mai from cod. Vat. gr. 1176,<sup>17</sup> and by Zachariä von Lingenthal from Paris. suppl. gr. 131 (sixteenth century).<sup>18</sup> The latter edition, stripped of its apparatus, was reprinted by Migne.<sup>19</sup> Zachariä mentions three other manuscripts containing the edict, which, however, he did not collate, namely Marc. gr. 83, Mosq. Typogr. 30 (= Synodal Library 320),<sup>20</sup> and Ottob. 309, the same as was used by Mercati for his edition of the anonymous Greek document. We may add to the list Vatopedi 280 (twelfth century ?)<sup>21</sup> and Vat. gr. 680 (thirteenth century).<sup>22</sup>

The text that follows has been prepared from photographs of the plaster casts of the inscription (figs. 3-7).<sup>23</sup> Mai's and Zachariä's editions are referred to in the apparatus by the sigla M and Z respectively. A few variants of the Leningrad manuscript that are quoted by Papadopoulos-Kerameus<sup>24</sup> are denoted by the symbol P. The passages that are missing from the inscription have been placed within square brackets; letters inadvertently omitted by the lapicide are in parentheses. In the few cases when, in the missing parts, Mai's readings differ from those of Zachariä, I have, as a rule, given preference to the former. Resolutions of abbreviations have not been indicated. I have also disregarded the punctuation marks on the inscription in favor of the conventional system. For the sake of convenience Zachariä's division into paragraphs has been retained.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.* (*supra*, note 7), p. 75 ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Jus graeco-romanum*, III, p. 485 ff.

<sup>19</sup> PG 133, col. 773 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Archimandrite Vladimir, *Sistematicheskoe opisanie rukopisej Moskovskoj Sinodal'noj Biblioteki*, I (Moscow, 1894), p. 457.

<sup>21</sup> S. Eustratiades and Arcadios, *Catal. of the Greek MSS in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), p. 60.

<sup>22</sup> *Codices Vaticani graeci*, III by R. Devreesse (Vatican City, 1950), p. 142.

<sup>23</sup> The reader should be warned that a few letters may have been chipped off in the process of making the plaster casts or of transporting them to their present location. Unfortunately, an examination of the original inscription is not at present practicable.

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.* (*supra*, note 1), p. 443.

+ Μανουήλ ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς ὁ πορφυρογέννητος, Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ] εὐσεβέστατος, ἀεισέβαστος, αὐγουστος, [ἰσαυρικός, κιλικικός, ἄρμενικός,] δαλματικός, οὐγγρικός, βοσθνικός, χροβατικός, λαζικός, ἰβηρικός, βουλγαρικός, σερβικός, 5 ζηκχικός, χαζαρικός, γοτθικός, θεοκυβέρνητος κλη[ρονόμος τοῦ στέμματος τοῦ μεγάλου] Κωνσταντίνου καὶ ψυχῇ νεμόμενος π[άντα τὰ τούτου δίκαια ὡς τινων ἀποστατησάν]των τοῦ κράτους ἡμῶν, τοῖς τοῦ φιλοχρίστου ἡμῶν [παντὸς λαοῦ, τῆς τε θεοφυλάκτου] ἡμῶν βασιλίδος πόλεως, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς [τῶν ὑπὸ 10 τὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας ἐξουσίαν] χωρῶν, ἡπειρωτικῶν τε καὶ θαλαττίων, οἱκ[ήτορσιν.]

1. Εἰ μακαρίζει Πέτρον Χριστὸς τὸν ἐν ἀποστ[όλοις] κορυφαίωτον, ἐπεὶ προφθάνει πάντας] τῷ διαπύρῳ τῆς ἀγαπήσεως, καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν χ[ριστὸν] διατείνεται τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ [ῶντος υἱὸν,] ἅτε παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποκαλυφθεὶς 15 τὸ κατ' ἐκείνον μ[υστήριον, τί δήποτ' ἂν ἕτερον εἴη μακαριστότερον καὶ τῷ κυρίῳ] εὐαρεστότερον τοῦ τῆς εὐσεβείας ὀρθοδοξαστικῶς τὴν ἀ[ποστολικήν] ἐκκλησίαν ἀντέχεσθαι] καὶ μὴ παρὰ τῶν τοῦ ἁδου πυλῶν κατισχύεσθαι; ἄστ[ιν]ας δὴ τὰς πύλας ταύτας ὑποληπτέον τοὺς μὴ παρὰ τὴν τ[αύτης] αὐλὴν εἰσιόντας δι' αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἀσφραγίστου θ[ύρας], ἐπεὶ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς 20 ἐρχομένοις] ἄνετος πρόκειται. ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν εἰλικρινεστ[άτην] εὐσέβειαν ὡς ἐπὶ πέτραν ἀρῥαγεστάτην ἡ Θεόθεν ἡμῶν] βασιλεία τὸν ἑαυτῆς θεμέλιον προσεδράζουσα καὶ ταύτῃ προσεποι[κοδομεῖσθαι] τὸ ὑπήκοον ἅπαν σπουδάζουσα,] μυρίαν ὅτι τὴν περὶ τούτου φροντίδα διηνεκῶς ἐπιδείκνυται[ι. οἶδαμεν γὰρ ἀκριβῶς, ὡς εἰ καὶ βασιλεύειν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς Θεὸς ἡμᾶς ἐ]πseudό- 25 κησεν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐκεῖθεν βασιλευόμεθα· καὶ ὥσπερ πα[ρὰ] τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρα λαμβάνειν πίστιν ἀνεπιμώμη]τον τῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἶναι τιθέμεθα, οὕτω καὶ προεισφέρειν Θεῷ τῷ βασιλεύειν ἡμᾶς προορίσαντι τὴν ἀπαρέγκλιτον πίστιν παρὰ τοῦ δικαίου προσαπαι[τούμεθα], καὶ δεῖν εἶναι Σολομῶντι πείθεσθαι λογιζόμεθα τῶν πραγμάτων [ἐκάστῳ τὸν πρόσφορον καιρὸν ἀφορίζοντι.

## TESTIMONIA:

12 sqq. Matt. 16:16; Marc. 8:29; Luc. 9:20

17 Matt. 16:18

18 sqq. cf. Ioh. 10:1 sqq.

28–29 Eccl. 3:1–9

## VARIAE LECTIONES:

4 βοσεντικός Z

5 ἄλαρικός Z: cognomina σερβ. ζηκχ. χαζαρ. desunt apud M

8 τε om. M || post θεοφυλάκτου, καὶ θεοφρουρήτου add. P

11 θαλασσίων Z

14 post θεοῦ, τοῦ add. P

17 κατισχύσασθαι Z

18 αὐλήν: πύλην Z: αὐτήν M sed per lapsum typographi ut ex versione latina apparet: “qui non ingrediuntur in eius aulam per Christum”

24 ἡμᾶς MP: ἐκάστων Z || ἐπηυδόκησεν Z

27 ἀπαρέγκλιτον MP: ἀπαράκλιτον Z

- 30 ἐντεῦθεν] καὶ ποτὲ μὲν μετὰ τοῦ εἰρηνικοῦ Χριστοῦ πλὴν ἄλλ' ἐπικαιρότατα  
λέγοντος "οὐ[κ ἤλθον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν εἰρήνην βαλεῖν ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν",  
οὐδὲ ἡ γαληνότης ἡμῶν εἰρηνεύειν ἀνέχεται οὐ]δ' ἐν ἀταράχῳ μένειν, ὅποτε  
παρεμβολὴ διαφωνούντων τοῖς περὶ θ[εοῦ θεσμοῖς ἀναφαίνεται, ἀλλὰ τὴν  
μάχαιραν] αἶρει τοῦ πνεύματος, τὴν διαιροῦσαν τὸ χεῖρον ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος,  
35 τὰ θεία προβεβλημέν[η] ῥήματα, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν διχοτομοῦσα πᾶν ὅσον τῆς  
ἐκκλησίας ἔκφυλον νόημα· ποτὲ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ κα]τὰ καιρὸν  
αὐθις τὴν οἰκίαν εἰρήνην βραβεύοντος καὶ εἰρηνεύειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ πᾶσι  
κε[λεύοντος καὶ τὰ τῶν εἰρηνοποιῶν μακαρίζοντος, ἀπο]στρέφει μὲν τὴν  
λογικὴν ῥομφαίαν εἰς τὰ ὀπ(ί)σω, ἥδη τὰς τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων δ[ιελθούσαν  
40 καρδίας καὶ τοὺς οὐκ ἀνεπισφαλεῖς λογισμοὺς εἰς μέσον ἀνακαλύψασαν, τὸν  
δὲ τῆς] ἑξῆρας φραγμὸν καθαιρεῖ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀντιλογίας καταστρέφει μεσό-  
τοιχον, καὶ [μετὰ τῆς ἁσματιζούσης τάξιατέ φησιν ἀγάπην ἐπὶ τοῖς μέχρι]  
νῦν ἀντερίζουσι. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ το(ῖ)ς παρεμπεσοῦσ(ι)ν ἡ εἰ[ύσεβῆς  
ἡμῶν βασιλεία προσεπεδείξατο.
- 45 2. Ἐζητεῖτο μὲν γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ ἱερογρ]άφῳ εὐαγγελίῳ φωνῆς τοῦ  
ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἣν τοῖς μ[αθηταῖς προσ-  
εφθέγγατο κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πάθους νύκτα λέγων] πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πορεύεσθαι,  
ὡς ὀφείλειν διὰ τοῦτο χαίρειν μᾶλλον [αὐτοὺς, ὅτι, φησὶ, πορεύομαι πρὸς  
τὸν πατέρα, ὅτι ὁ πατήρ μου μέλῳ μου ἐστίν· ἡ δὲ] ζήτησις, ὅπως  
50 ἡ καὶ κατὰ τίνα τὴν διασάφησιν μελῶν τοῦ λέγον[τος Χριστοῦ ὁ πατήρ  
ἐκλαμβάνεται. ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὴν μωσαϊκὴν] ἐκείνην ῥάβδον (sic) τοῦτο τὸ  
πρόβλημα μικροῦ δεῖν διχῇ διατέμνειν ἔμελλ[ε θεοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν θάλασ-  
σαν, πρὸς ἣν οἱ ὠγρηταὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀλιεῖς τὰ δίκτυα τοῦ λόγου]  
χαλάσαντες τὴν ἐθνικὴν μερίδα συμπαραλέξαντο· ὡς καὶ δοκεῖν ἴστασθαι  
55 [τεῖχος ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ τεῖχος ἐξ εὐωνύμων, ὡς ἀλλήλοις] πάντων ἀντιλε-  
γόντων περὶ τῆς τοῦ ῥητοῦ ἐξηγήσεως. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τισι τῶν γραφικ[ῶν

- 31 Matt. 10:34  
37 cf. Marc. 9:50  
38 Matt. 5:9  
41-42 cf. Eph. 2:14  
42 Cant. 2:4  
48-49 Ioh. 14:28  
53-54 Matt. 4:19; Marc. 1:17; Luc. 5:4  
55 Exod. 14:22

- 30 μετὰ om. Z  
32 ἀνέχεται M: ἀνείχετο Z  
33 post ἀλλὰ, καὶ add. Z  
34 αἶρειν Z  
35 προβεβλημένην P || ῥήματα M: νοήματα Z  
43 τοῦτο: οὕτω Z  
44 προσεπεδείξατο M: προσεδείξατο P: προσιδεῖν ἤρξατο Z  
45 ἐζητεῖτο Z: ἐζήτητο M  
50 καὶ om. Z  
54 ἐδόκει Z  
56 primum τῶν per coniecturam om. Z

ἀποχρώμενοι χρήσεων, μόνῳ τῷ αἰτίῳ τῆς ἀχρόνου καὶ ἀνωτάτω γεννήσεως  
 τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ἐξήγησιν ταυτησί τῆς φωνῆς περιέγραφον,  
 καὶ συγχ[ωρεῖν οὐκ ἤθελον καὶ ὡς σαρκοφόρου τοῦ κυρίου κατὰ τὴν κάτω] γέν-  
 60 νησ(ι)ν χρηματίσαντος τὴν ῥῆσιν ταύτην λογίλεισθαι· ὡς ἐντεῦθεν καιν[ήν τινα  
 τὴν ἔνωσιν τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ φύσεων καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν παράδοσιν  
 ἀνα]φαίνεσθαι, καὶ ταύτῳ εἶναι νομίζεσθαι ὑποστάσεώς τε τὸ ἐνιαῖον περι-  
 α[θρεῖν καὶ τὴν ἀσύγχυτον κρᾶσιν τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ ἡνωμένων ἀτρέ]πτως φύσεων,  
 καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κινδυνεύειν τὰς τῶν μονοφυσιτῶν δυσφημία[ς οἶον ἀνακαινίζε-  
 65 σθαι. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ κατὰ μόνον τὸν τῆς κενώσεως εἶτο[υν σ]υγκαταβάσεως τρόπον  
 εἰρησθαι μείζονα τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸν πατέρα διεννοοῦντο, ὡς [τῇ τοῦ μονογενοῦς  
 ὑποστάσει κατὰ τὴν θείαν αὐτοῦ φύσιν πάντως] προσάπτεσθαι τὸ λεγόμενον·  
 οὗτος γὰρ ἑαυτὸν κεκένωκεν ἄσαρκ[ος ὦν], καὶ τὴν ἀγνὴν ὑπέδω μήτραν τῆς  
 Θεομήτορος, τῶν μέντοι πατρικῶν οὐ[κ ἀ]πύεστη κόλπων, ὅλος ὢν ἀχώριστος  
 70 τοῦ γεννήτορος. οἱ δὲ προσώπῳ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεως τοῦτο  
 ῥῆθῃναι παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἐτίθεντο, ὥστε μονονουχὶ φαντασιώδη τὴν οἰκονο-  
 μίαν τῆς μετὰ σα[ρκὸς ἀναστροφῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰκονίλεισθαι. ἔνιοι δὲ  
 καὶ τῇ σαρκ[ὶ μὲν] τοῦ κυρίου τὴν τοιαύτην φωνὴν ἐπεγράφεοντο, πλὴν ἄλλ’  
 ὁπότε κατὰ ψι[λὴν ἀποδιαίρεσιν] σὰρξ αὕτη νοεῖται, ξένη τῆς προσλα[βομένης  
 75 ταύτης] Θεότητος, ὥσπερ τυχὸν ἡ τῆς ἡμῶν ἐκάστου σαρκὸς ὑ[πόσ]τασις,  
 πρὸς ἣν οὐδαμῶς οὐδεμία τῆς Θεότητος ἔνωσις· ὃν δὲ τρόπον [καὶ ἡ] δουλεία  
 καὶ ἡ ἄγνοια ταύτη προσάπτεται, ἡνίκα ψιλαῖς τοῦ νοῦ [φαντασίαις τὸ  
 ὁρώμενον ἐκ τοῦ νοουμένου διέ]λωμεν κατὰ τὸν Δαμασκόν· σοφόν· κατὰ γὰρ  
 τὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως [τ]αυτότητα καὶ τὴν ἀδ(ι)άσπαστον ἔνωσιν οὔτε δούλη  
 80 οὔτε ἀγνοοῦσα λεχθῇ[σε]ται· καὶ οὕτω καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς διαφωνοῦντες οὗτοι  
 ἐδείκνυντο· οἱ δὲ ἐτέρω[θεν] αὐτοῖς ἀντικαθιστάμενοι ἤδεσαν μὲν καί[τινας] τῶν  
 πνευματοφόρων τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας πατέρων καὶ διδασκάλων τὴν τοῦ  
 [κυρίου] ταύτην φωνὴν ἐρμηνεύσαντας καὶ κατὰ τὸ αἶτιον τῆς ἀκαταλήπτου  
 πρώτη[ς] γεν[ε]ν[ή]σεως, ἀλλ’ οὖν ὁπότε κατὰ τῶν ἐρεσχελούντων κατ’ οὐσίαν  
 85 διαφέρειν τοῦ [υἱοῦ] τὸν πατέρα τὰς ἀντιῤῥήσεις πεποίητο τῇ τοῦ μείζονος  
 φωνῇ] κατὰ πάντα χρωμένων καὶ ὑπόβασιν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις κατὰ τὴν [φύ]σιν  
 εἰσγόντων καὶ ἑτερότητα, οὐ μὴν δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ μόνον ἐκλαμβάνεσθαι  
 τῇ[ν] τοιαύτην φωνὴν προσεπάγοντας. ἡνίκα γὰρ οὐ πρὸς τοιοῦτους ἦσαν αἱ  
 ἀντι[θέσεις] καὶ τὰ παλαιίσματα, περὶ δὲ τῆς μετὰ σαρκὸς οἰκονομίας καὶ τῶν  
 90 φυ[σικῶν] ἰδιο[τήτων] καὶ διαφορῶν ἐδογματίζον, ἐκάστη τῶν φύσεων [τὰς]  
 προσφόρους ῥήσεις ἀπένεμον, τὰς μὲν ὑψηλοτέρας καὶ ὑπερκειμένας τῇ τοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ [Θεότη]τι ὡς καὶ Θεοῦ τελείου ὄντος προσαφορίζοντες, τὰς δὲ ταπεινο-  
 τέρας καὶ ὑποβεβη[κυίας] τῇ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Χριστῷ ἀνθρωπότητι ὡς καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ  
 γεγονότι] τελείῳ προσεφαρμόζοντες· οἷς καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον ὁμοφρόνει κράτος,

76 sqq. Ioh. Damasc. *De fide orthod.*, IV. 18, PG 94, col. 1188B

73 τῆς σαρκὸς. . . περιέγραφον Z

76 τρόπων (sic) Z

80 secundum καὶ om. M || ἑαυτοὺς: αὐτοὺς Z

91 ὑψηλοτάτας Z

- 95 [ταῖς] τῶν ἀγίων τῆς ἐκκλησίας φωστήρων διδασκαλίαις ἐπόμενον. οὕτω  
 δ[ὲ] καὶ μετὰ τοιούτων ἀντιθέσεων ἀμφιγνωμονοῦντες ἀλλήλ[οις] καὶ ἀντιλέ-  
 γοντες ἀνεφαίνοντο. ἀλλ' ἡ παρὰ τῆς ἄνω]θεν δεξιᾶς καὶ δεδομένη καὶ διεξα-  
 γομένη βασιλεία ἡμῶν οὐχ ὑπερεῖδεν οὐ[τ'ω τ]ὸν νέον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ περιούσιον  
 100 Ἰσραὴλ τῷ τῆς αἰγυπτιακῆς κακίας ἄρχο[ν]τι πολεμούμενον, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐξ  
 ἔθνων μετρημένην καὶ εὐκληματοῦσα[ν] ἄμπελον ταῖς τῶν ἀπαδόντων λόγων  
 παρεισφθοραῖς] χαλαζουμένην οἶον καὶ συντριβήσεσθαι μέλλουσαν, ὥς καὶ τῷ  
 φυτοῦ[ργῳ] θρηνηθῆναι διὰ τὸ ἀκαλλές τε καὶ ἄκαρπον. κἄν δὲ μυρίαὶς ὅσαι[ς]  
 ταῖς ἀνθολκαῖς τῶν κοσμικῶν φροντίδων διεμεμέριστο, καὶ τοῖς ἐκ [τοῦ καλά-  
 μου θηρίοις, ἀλλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς πελαγίοις κήτεσιν] ἀντιμαχεῖν ἡναγκάζετο ἐκ  
 105 θαλάσσης ἅμα καὶ γῆς προσεγχανοῦσι κατ[ὰ τ]ὸ αὐτόν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων  
 ἀρχῆς περικαλλέστατον σῶμα διασπαράξ[ασθ]αι, ὅμως τὰ μὲν ἐν δευτέρῳ  
 τίθεται, τῆς δὲ τῶν διεστῶτων τῆς ἐκκ[λη]σίας μερῶν οὐκ ὀλίγη γίνεται φροντίς  
 προσενώσεως, καὶ τοῦ τὴν ὀρθό]δοξον περὶ τοῦ ζητουμένου ἔννοιαν ἀνακα-  
 λυφθῆναι μεγίστην ὅτ[ι] δείκ[νυ]σι τὴν προμήθειαν· εἶναι γὰρ τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις  
 110 εἰρήνην ἀπαρχὴν καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἡμετέ[ρου] κράτους εἰρηναίας ἐν ἅπασι κατα-  
 στάσεως μετ' εὐελπίστου γνώμης πεπι[στευ]κε. τοιγάρτοι καὶ τὸν ἀγιώτατον καὶ  
 οἰκουμενικὸν πατριάρχην, μετὰ] τῶν ἐτέρων ἀγιωτάτων πατριαρχῶν, τοῦ τε  
 τῆς Θεουπόλεως μεγάλης Ἀντιοχείας καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἀ[γίας] Σιών [τῆς π]όλεως  
 Ἱερουσαλὴμ, συγκαλεσαμένη, καὶ τὴν ἐνδημοῦσαν τηνικαῦτα τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν  
 115 π[ό]λεων] θείαν καὶ ἱερὰν τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀρχιερέων σύνοδον συναθροίσασα  
 τὰς [χρήσεις τῶν τὴν τοιαύτην ἐξηγησαμένων φωνὴν θεοφόρων] πατέρων,  
 εἰς μέσον προτεθῆναι ὠκονομήσατο καὶ μετ' ἀκριβοῦς βαρ[αν]ισθῆναι κατ-  
 εξετάσεως. καὶ γοῦν αἱ μὲν δοκιμασθεῖσαι τῷ τοῦ λ[όγου] πυρὶ ὡς εὐροῖζον  
 120 χρυσίον εὐρέθησαν, μηδὲν ὑπόχαλκον [ἐφελκόμεναι ὁ πρότερόν τισιν ἐνομιζέτο·  
 αἱ δὲ] τῶν μέχρι τότε ἀντιλεγόντων ἐνστάσεις καὶ ἀσύμφωνοι φωναὶ δι[α]λύ-  
 ονται, τῇ δὲ μιᾷ κεφαλῇ τῶν πάντων Χριστῷ τὸ διασπασθῆναι κινδυν[ε]ῦον  
 σῶμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας συναρμολογεῖται καὶ συμβιβάζεται, καὶ οἱ ἐκ [τῆς αὐτῆς  
 κολυμβήθρας υἱοθετηθέντες ἀδελφὰ φρο]νοῦντες καὶ ὁμογνώμονες γίνονται.  
 ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ὁρογραφεῖται τὰ περὶ τῆς [τοι]αύτης τοῦ κυρίου φωνῆς, ὅπως ἀκο-  
 125 λούθως τοῖς ἀνέκαθεν τῶν ἱερῶν συν[ό]δων εὐσεβεστάτοις δόγμασιν ὀφείλει  
 παραλαμβάνεσθαι. κεκύρωτα[ι γὰρ κατὰ τὰς διαφόρους μὲν ἑτέρας, παρὰ τῶν  
 ἀγίων πατέρων ἐκ]δοθείσας ἐξηγήσεις, νοεῖσθαι ταύτην καὶ λέγεσθαι· οὐ

100 *sqq.* cf. Ioh. 15:1 *sqq.*

103–104 Ps. 67:31

96 primum καὶ om. Z

100 καὶ om. Z

102 κἄν καὶ Z

107 οὐκ ὀλίγη γίνεται φροντίς Z: ὅλη γίνεται M

115 post συναθρ., τε add. Z

123 ἀδελφὰ φρονοῦντες M: ἀδελφοὶ ὁμοφρονοῦντες Z

124 ὅπως: ὅπερ M

125 εὐσεβάστοις Z

127 ἐκδοθείσας M: δὲ καὶ δοθείσας Z



- μὴν [δ]έ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ἀνθρωπίνην κτιστὴν καὶ  
περιγρα[π]τὴν φύσιν, καὶ ἥν ὁ αὐτὸς Χριστὸς πάσχειν τότε πεφυ[κ]υῖαν καὶ  
130 πέπονθε, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τῆς τοιαύτης φύσεως ιδιότητας· ὥς ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὴν  
ἀληθῆ τοῦ κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσιν εἴπουν σάρκωσιν σώζεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τῶν  
φύσεων ἄφυρτον ἐν τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μιᾷ ὑποστάσει συντηρεῖσθαι καὶ ἀσυ[γ]-  
χύτους τὰς ιδιότητας. ἐν δὲ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ εὐσεβογράφῳ τόμῳ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία  
ἡμῶν οἰκειογράφοις ἐρυθροῖς ὑπεσ[η]μήνατο γράμμασιν, οὕτω πρὸς ἔπος  
135 διαλαμβάνουσι· „στοιχῶ ταῖς γνώμαις τῶν ἀγιωτάτων πατριαρχῶν καὶ τῆς  
Θείας καὶ ἱερᾶς συνόδου, καὶ λέγω, ὅτι αὕτη ἡ σὰρξ τοῦ κυρίου ἐξ αὐτῆς] ἐνώ-  
σεως ὑπερυψωθείσα καὶ ἀνωτάτω πάσης τιμῆς ὑπερκειμένη, ὡς ἐξ] ἄκρας  
ἐνώσεως ὁμόθεος γενομένη, ἀμεταβλήτως, ἀναλλοιώτῳ[ς,] ἄσυγχύτως καὶ  
ἀτρέπτως, διὰ τὴν καὶ ὑπόστασιν ἕνωσιν καὶ [ἀχώριστος καὶ ἀδιάσπαστος  
140 μένουσα τῷ προσλαβο]μένῳ αὐτὴν Θεῷ λόγῳ, ἰσοκλεῶς αὐτῷ τιμᾶται καὶ  
προσκ[υ]νῆται μιᾷ προσκυνήσει, καὶ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ θείοις ἐγκαθ[ι]δρυται  
θώκοις ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ὡς τὰ τῆς Θεότητος αὐχήματα κατ[α]πλουτήσασα,  
σωζομένων τῶν ιδιοτήτων τῶν] φύσεων“. καὶ οὕτως ὁ τῆς ἀδαιρέτου τριάδος  
καὶ μετὰ τὴν σάρκω[σ]ιν εἰς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀδαιρέτῳ αὐτοῦ  
145 μιᾷ ὑποστάσει διπ[λ]οῦ]ς τε καὶ ὁύνθετος ἐν ἄσυγχύτοις ταῖς φύσεσι, τὴν  
ἐξ ἄσυμφων[ί]ας διαιρεθῆναι καὶ τῷ τῆς ἀντιλογίας ὕδατι] καταβυθισθῆναι  
κινδυνεύουσιν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς ἐν συνήγαγε καὶ ἀνήγαγε· καὶ ὡς Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώ-  
πων μεσίτης καὶ νῦν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τοὺς πάντας κατήλλαξεν. [ἐ]πεὶ δὲ ὁ τῆς κακίας  
πατὴρ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ τῆς ἐνέδρας καθήμεν[ος, καὶ τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῷ γένει  
150 ἐπιβουλεύειν οὐκ ἀπεχόμενος, μετὰ τῆς συνήθους καὶ αὐθις ἀναιδεῖας προσ-  
έβαλε καὶ ἐχόμε[ν]α τ]ρίβων ἔθετο σκάνδαλα, πάλιν ὁ Θεμελιῶν τὴν  
τῆς ἐκκλησίας γῆν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσ[φά]λειαν αὐτῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πρὸς ταύτην ἐπ-  
έβλεψε· καὶ συνοδικὴ πάλιν ἐπὶ τοῖς [λεγόμενοις γίνεται κατεξέτασις καὶ γράμ-  
μα πάλιν ἐκτί[θ]εται παρὰ τῶν ἐν ὑποψίᾳ μὲν γεγονότων, πληροφορησάσιν δὲ  
155 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν [ἀπ]αιτηθέντων περὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν συνειδήσεως· ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἕκαστος  
τούτων οἰκειοχέρως] ὑπέγραψεν, ἀναθέματι καθυποβάλλων τοὺς ἐναντία  
φρονήσαντας [ταῖς προεκτεθείσαις τῆς ἡμῶν βασιλείας γνώμαις καὶ τῶν]  
ἀγιωτάτων πατριαρχῶν καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ Θείας συνόδου ἀφ' οὗ τὸ κύριον  
ἐδέξαν[το,] καὶ οὕτω διὰ βίου φρονήσαντας. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τοὺς τῇ  
160 κενώσει μόνῃ τὴν τοι[αύ]την φωνὴν προσαρμόζοντας ἢ τῇ κατὰ ψιλήν ἐπί-

151 Ps. 139:6  
151-152 cf. Ps. 101:26

128 τὴν om. Z  
132 καὶ om. Z  
135 διαλαμβάνουσα Z || ἀγίων Z  
136 ita M: verba αὕτη ἢ om. Z  
138 ἀναλλ. ἀμεταβλ. Z  
140 θείῳ Z  
144 δὲ om. Z  
153 γράμμα M: γράμματα Z  
157 τῆς Z: ταῖς τε M: fort. τῆς τε legendum  
159 post ἐδέξαντο, ἢ add. M

- νοϊαν διαιρέσει, ὅπ[ό]τε ἡ τοῦ κυρίου σὰρξ ὡς μηδὲ τῇ θεότητι ἐνωθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτὴν] νοεῖται καὶ κρίνεται (καθ' ὃν τρόπον καὶ δούλη καὶ ἀγνοοῦσα λέγεται), οὐ μ[ὴ]ν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς λέγοντας τὴν τοιαύτην φωνὴν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου ῥηθῆναι τὸ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως τῶ[ν ἀ]νθρώπων ὑποδυομένου πρόσωπον, ὥσπερ καὶ
- 165 ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ στ[αυροῦ] κρεμάμενος ἀνακέκραγεν, ὅπερ οἱ θεῖοι πατέρες προσώπων] τῆς κοινῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεως λεχθὲν ἐκλαμβάνονται (ἐκείνης γὰρ πάντως ἡ ἐ[γκ]ατάλειψις, ἡ ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ὑπόδικος γέγονεν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὃς ἀμα[ρ]τ[ί]αν οὐ]κ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ), καὶ τοὺς τοιοῦτους οὖν ἅπαν-
- 170 τας ὑπ[ε]ρόδικους ἔθεντο τῇ καταδίκη τοῦ ἀναθέματος. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τοιούτῳ γράμματι καὶ συνοδικὸν προέβη σημείωμα τὰ συνενεχθέντα διαγράφων ἀριδ[ηλ]ότατα· καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ κατὰ τὴν ἐν ἔσματι νύμφην ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία προφαίνουσα τὴν πνευματικὴν [αὐ]τῆς ἀγαλλίασιν, ὁ χειμὼν φησι παρῆλθε δι' οὗ ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν ἀπεψύγετο, ὁ ὑε[τ]ὸς ἀπῆλθεν, αἱ ῥαγδαιόταται
- 175 τῶν ἀντιθέων ἐπιφοραὶ διελύθησαν, τὰ ἄνθη τῆς] ἀληθείας ὥφθη ἐν τῇ γῇ. τὴν γὰρ τοῦ νυμφίου φωνὴν ἠκουτίσθη, ὅτι ἡ φωνὴ [αὐτοῦ ἡδεῖα· ἡ γὰρ τοῦ κυρίου φωνή, περὶ ἧς ἡ ζήτησις ἦν, τοῖς ὁρθοῖς τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύκων κρατυνθεῖσα λόγοις ἀπεδόθη τοῖς αὐτῆς τροφίμοις μετὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας κηρύττεσθαι· καὶ ἰδοὺ νῦν αἱ νεφέλαι παρῆλθον ἀπὸ] τῆς τηλαυγήσεως τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ
- 180 φωτὸς τὸ σκότος τῆς ἀγνοίας λύσαντος καὶ σκεδάσας] ντος· καὶ οἱ τοῦ σκανδάλου λίθοι τῶν ἡμετέρων τρίβων μετήρθησαν· καὶ οἱ πό]δες ἡμῶν ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐστήκασιν, καὶ ὁ τὴν πτέρναν τερῶν τῆς κ[αρ]δίας ὄφιν καταπεπτάτῃται· καὶ μία γέγονεν ἐκκλησία κοινῶς] δοξολογούντων τὸν κύριον.
3. Διὸ δὴ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν καὶ νῦν ἐπικυροῦσα τὰ παρὰ τῶ[ν ἀγιω-
- 185 τάτων πατριαρχῶν καὶ τῆς συνειλεγμένης θείας καὶ ἱερᾶς ταύτης συνόδου ὁροθετηθέντα, καὶ βεβα]ιότατα διαμένειν ἐθέλουσα, τὸ παρὸν εὐσεβὲς ἐκτίθεται ἱδικτον, δι' οὗ [καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐπικράτειαν ταύτης ἔχουσιν] τῆς ὁρθοδόξου γνώμης παρακελεύεται. εἰ δὲ τις ἐναντιοφρονῶν ἐξῆς [φωραθήσεται καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμῶν εὐσεβῆ γραφὴν παραλογιζόμενος, εἰ μὲν ἐπίσκοπός]
- 190 ἔστιν ἢ κληρικὸς ἢ τῷ τῶν ἱερωμένων ἐν μοναχοῖς καταλόγῳ σύστοιχος, τὸν τοιοῦτον θ[ε]σπίζομεν τῷ τῆς καθαιρέσεως ἐπιτιμῷ καθυποβάλλεσθαι·] εἰ δὲ τῶν ἐν ἀξιώμασι καὶ τῶν ἐντελεστέρων τελεῖ, δημεύσει τε ὑποκεῖσθαι καὶ τῇ

---

165 *cf.* Matt. 27:46

168–169 I Pet. 2:22

173 *sqq.* Cant. 2:11 *sqq.*

182 *cf.* Gen. 3:15

---

171 γράμμα προέβη τὰ συναχθέντα Z

175 διελύθησαν Z: om. M

180–181 ita M: τὸ τ. σκ. αἴτιον διελύθη καὶ τ. ἡμ. τρ. μετήρθη Z

183 δοξολογοῦσα Z

185 ἱερᾶς ταύτης Z: ἱερωτάτης M

187 διὸ M

188 ἐξῆς: αὐτοῖς Z || φωραθήσεται Z: φωρασθήσεται M

190 ἢ κλ. ἢ μοναχὸς Z

195 ἀφαιρέσει [τοῦ ὀξιώματος· εἰ δὲ τῆς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν μερίδος καθέστηκεν, ὑπερορίαν  
τῆς τε βασιλίδος τῶν πόλεων καὶ πάσης ἀπ]λῶς κατακρίνεσθαι πόλεως, καὶ ἐπὶ  
πᾶσι τούτοις τῇ αὐστηρίᾳ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ θείων κανόνων ὑπάγ[εσθαι. Μηνὶ  
ἀπριλλίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος ἰδ' τοῦ ,σχοδ' ἔτους.]

194 τῆς τε M: τῆσδε τῆς Z

195 αὐστηρότητι Z

195 ἰνδικτιῶνος ἰδ' <sup>76</sup> ,σχοδ' <sup>ω</sup> P: ἰνδικτιῶνος ἰδ' τοῦ ,ς. . . cod. marchionis de Rosanbo,  
teste Omont, *Catal. des mss. des Départements*, p. 71: ἰνδικτιῶνος θ' <sup>76</sup> τοῦ ,ς. . .  
Z: cod. Mosq. bibl. synod. 320 μηνὶ μαρτ. ἔτ. ,σχος' prave habet

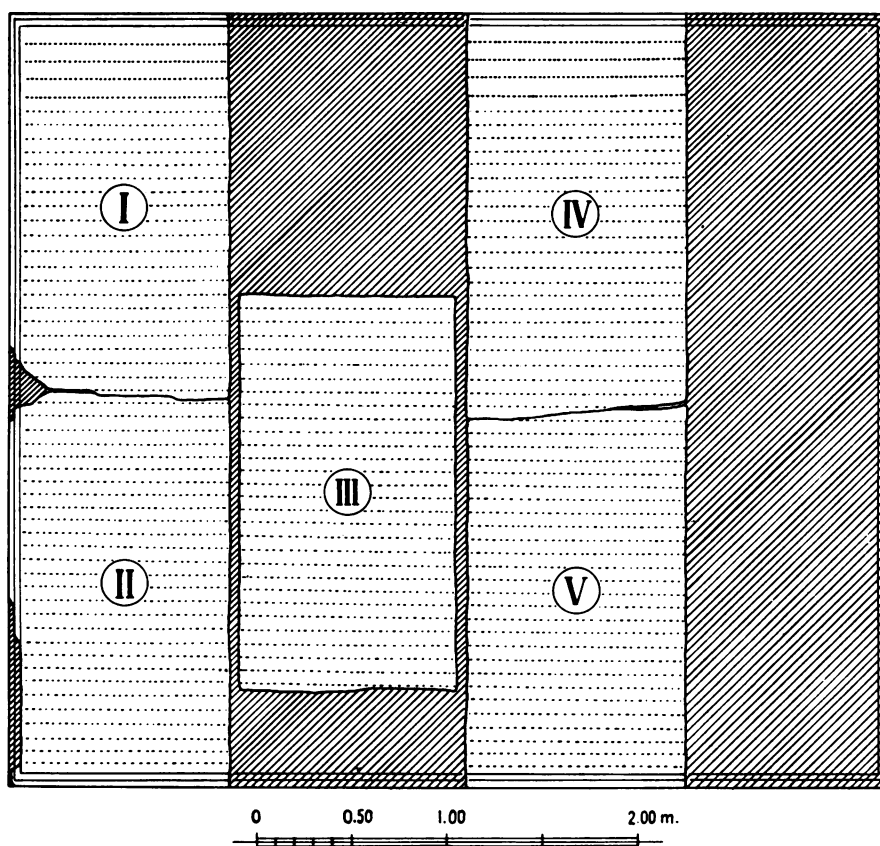
As can be seen from the apparatus criticus, the inscription corroborates in most cases Mai's readings as against Zachariä's; this is not surprising, since Mai used an original copy of the edict, whereas Zachariä chose to base his edition on a very late manuscript. Otherwise, the inscription does not make any significant improvement in the text of the edict: its value lies elsewhere. On the one hand, it provides an excellent, precisely dated specimen of Byzantine epigraphy; on the other, it gives us some insight into the imperial ambitions of Manuel I. The very size of the inscription is meaningful in this respect. The imperial titulature used in the heading of the edict shows a conscious adaptation of the formula of the Later Roman Empire that prevailed down to the reign of Heraclius. The epithets εὐσεβέστατος, ἀεισέβαστος, αὐγουστος and the *cognomina* ἰσαυρικός, κιλικικός, etc. are borrowed from the old titulature that had been in abeyance for several centuries; but they are added to, instead of replacing, the normal "middle-Byzantine" formula ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς etc.<sup>25</sup> In addition to the pompous epithets, the title of the edict contains an entire political program: Manuel is described as "heir to the crown of Constantine the Great and in his spirit holding sway over all of his [Constantine's] rightful possessions, inasmuch as some have broken away from our Empire." That Manuel entertained such notions of a *renovatio* has often been noted;<sup>26</sup> but there is a nuance which the edict helps to bring out: the return to the palmy days of the Christian Empire did not entail a break with the immediate past. Hence, the archaic titles of Constantine and Justinian are grafted onto the Byzantine formula: "emperor of the Romans, faithful in Christ, born in the purple." Hence also, the contrast between the border of the inscription which attempts, however feebly, to appear antique, and the compressed, contracted lettering that does not even try to recapture the monumental simplicity, be it even of Justinian's period.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. L. Bréhier, "L'origine des titres impériaux à Byzance," *BZ*, XV (1906), p. 171 ff. Bréhier singles out another instance of a return to the old formula (but lacking the ethnic *cognomina*) in Novel I of Leo VI: *Jus graeco-romanum*, III, p. 67.

<sup>26</sup> See, for example, W. Ohnsorge, *Das Zweikaiserproblem im früheren Mittelalter* (Hildesheim, 1947), p. 90 ff.



1. Istanbul, Türbe of Suleiman I, Ceiling of Entrance Porch



2. Reconstruction of Inscription of Manuel I

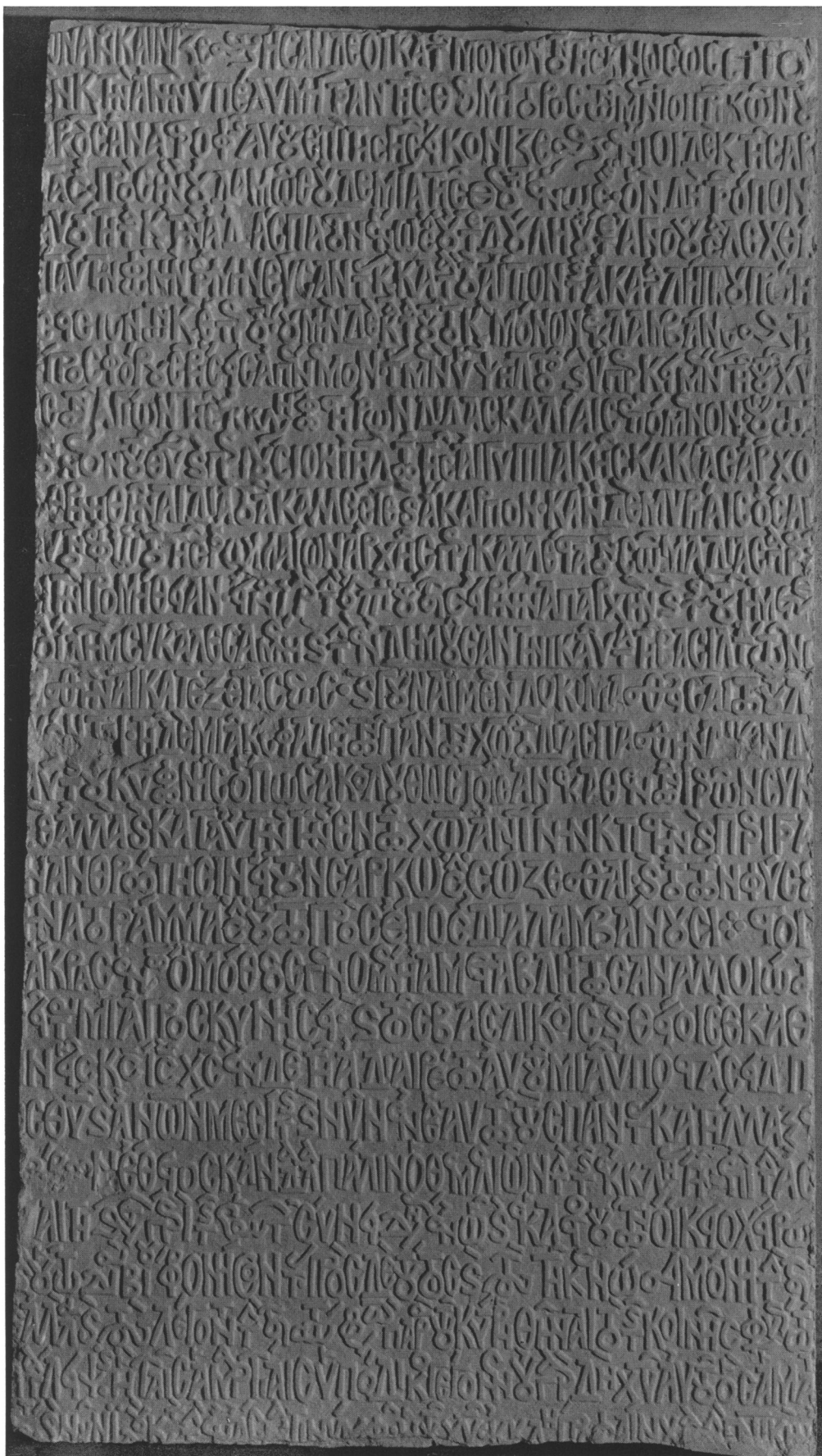


3. Istanbul, Ayasofya Museum, Plaster Cast of Manuel's Inscription, Fragment I





4. Istanbul, Ayasofya Museum, Plaster Cast of Manuel's Inscription, Fragment II

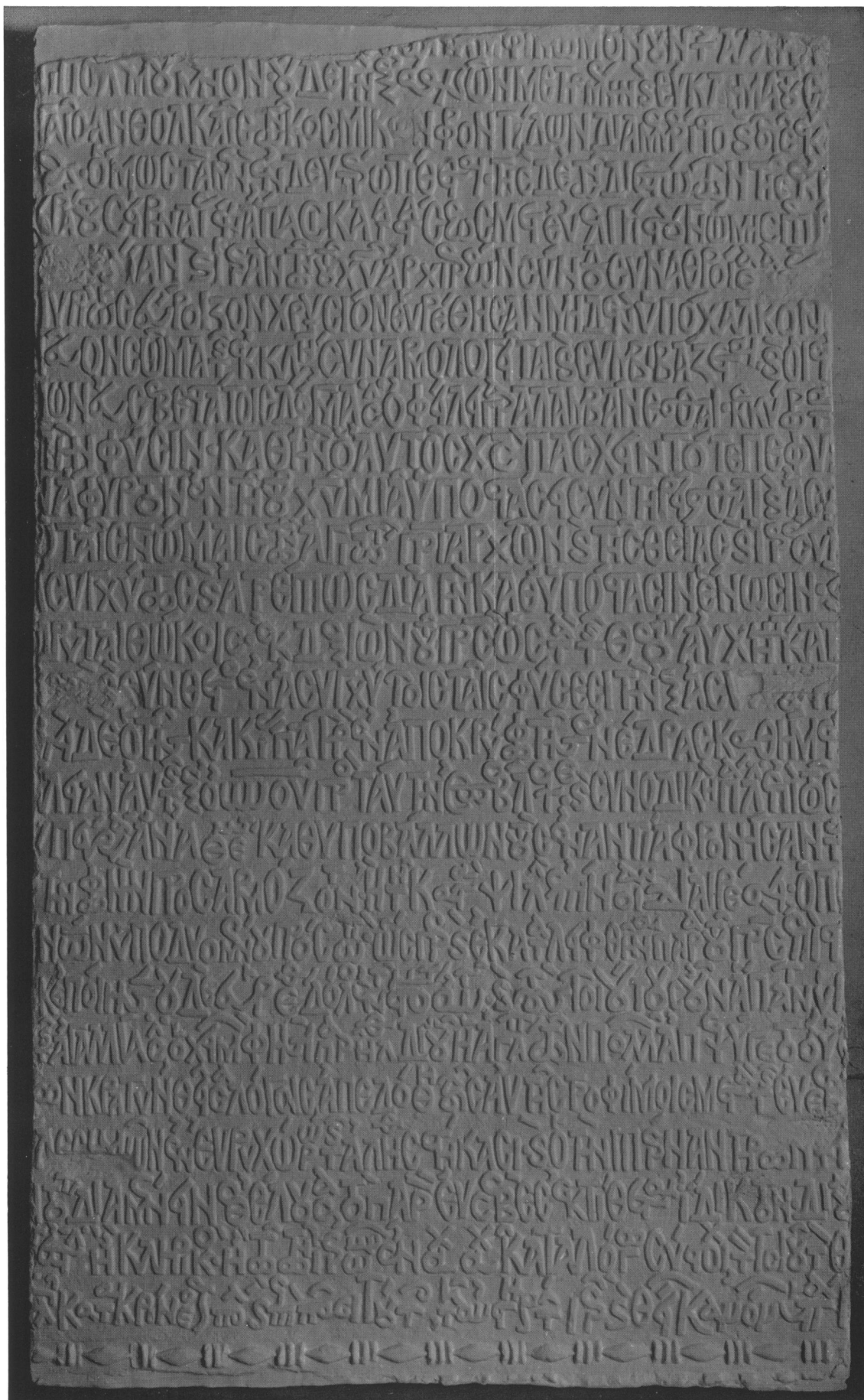


5. Istanbul, Ayasofya Museum, Plaster Cast of Manuel's Inscription, Fragment III



6. Istanbul, Ayasofya Museum, Plaster Cast of Manuel's Inscription, Fragment IV





7. Istanbul, Ayasofya Museum, Plaster Cast of Manuel's Inscription, Fragment V